monious relations between the inhabitants of the region and the Federal officials. The head of the office should not be empowered to give orders to employees of Federal functional bureaus, but should merely act as a facilitator.

An increased consciousness among administrators of the relation of administrative regions to the building up of an efficient bureaucracy and to the development of greater administrative responsiveness to the public whom bureaucracy serves is, more than anything else, the premise upon which improvement of the present regional schemes must rest. Such an awareness will turn administrators toward an evaluation of their own agencies' regionalizations in terms which have meaning for the future of democratic government.

**THE SOUTHERN CRISIS AND SOCIAL CONTROL**

WAYLAND J. HAYES

*Vanderbilt University*

A YEAR ago a British writer, G. D. H. Cole, made an exhaustive study of the mass moods which preceded the overturn of political, economic, and social arrangements in Europe. These included: a growing sense that vast potential wealth is going to waste while millions go hungry, and productive genius is held in chains to obsolete economic policies; a fear of insecurity among millions who have possessed a measure of security; an epidemic insistence that something be done even where there is no clear notion of what should be done; a panic retreat from the terrifying complications of modern-world problems to the delusive over-simplifications of extreme nationalism. Continuing the list further, we find a vehement reassertion of the rights of private property; a conviction that old political parties have gone stale and futile; a flight from representative institutions to personal leaderships, and a tendency to think of politics less in terms of adjustment through discussion and more in terms of coercion through force, and, if necessary, through violence. We know that these moods have been translated into social processes and upheavals which have led to very unstable and insecure social structures.

This reminds us that in some distant day research students will examine the vast and accumulating data of this period and will attempt to interpret or assign causes. Like analyses by physical scientists who deal with catastrophic changes in nature, the stresses and strains will be analyzed and described after their occurrence. The immense proportions and complexity of the phenomena make understanding and prediction seem relatively hopeless.

But it is the task of science to persistently analyze recurring phenomena in search for valid generalizations upon which prediction and control may be based. Working hypotheses and theoretical framing are necessary tools in this search. It is the problem of this paper to present whatever theoretical framework we have for interpreting mass processes and social movements; and especially to

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apply this framework to the past and current developments in the southern regions of the United States. The result may be over-simplified, but it may aid in the comprehension of a vast process which is going on under our very eyes.

Le Bon analyzed historical periods very much like the present in his study of The Crowd. Martin accepts the essential outlines of the mass process given by Le Bon, but adds a psycho-analytic interpretation. Students of social psychology and social control seem in general to agree upon the nature of the process; and conscious efforts to control mass action furnish pragmatic evidence of validity. Both constructive and subversive propaganda employ techniques and instruments to set the process in motion and bring it to preconceived ends.

It may be presumed that masses of people, so far as their potential large-group relations are concerned, are ordinarily quite individualized. They may be represented as a herd or flock following routine patterns without consciousness of any ethnic totality. Individual difficulties and local conflicts may continually occur within this mass without any realization of their widespread frequency and general causation. Thus, suffering, loss, poverty, and calamity may be borne by hundreds and thousands in a wide region without producing mass reaction. Individuals, families, and localities may experience tensions, disorganization, and frustration. Various forms of flight such as intra-community mobility and migration may occur. Hopelessness, fear, and bitterness may remain localized though widely diffused. The moods listed at the outset may arise, spread, and become general.

Through some apparently sudden occurrence these difficulties, strains, and tensions are brought to a common focus of attention. Such a crisis may be precipitated by a major threat to security. The important fact is that individualization and localization disappear and mass consciousness arises out of the focusing upon a common stimulus, except, however, in the case of extreme or intense crises when the probable result is panic and chaos rather than large-group consciousness and solidarity. Generally, the first reaction to a crisis is an orderly milling or rotation to discover means of solution or escape. In physical movements such as mobs and rushes the rotary action or milling literally precedes the final plunge toward an objective. Analogously, in ideational crises the masses of people are tense, alert, and confused, but listening to a round of proposals and doctrines of salvation. Preceding and during the milling phase leaders arise to define the situation. These leaders may really serve two functions. Having insight, they perceive the trends and developments long before the masses are aware of an approaching change, and by their writing or speaking they become factors in the precipitation of the crises. And during the milling which follows they further define the situation and suggest programs or plans for solution. There may be a fair degree of similarity in defining the situation by various potential leaders; or, on the contrary, the masses may have a number of interpretations placed before them. And most certainly, a great variety of proposed panaceas will be formulated and urged.

The general effect of this mingling of true and false prophecy is to provoke further confusion, heighten tension and fear, increase suggestibility, and intensify a desire for action in some direction. This is a dangerous phase of the mass process because action may follow the lead of any fanatic or demagogue who may succeed in getting the balance of attention by manip-
ulating stereotyped symbols, traditions, and taboos. This is a time when a simple magic formula may be chosen to resolve complex and stubborn situations. This is a time when the weight and logic of previous conditioning will challenge all the resources of science and statesmanship. For it must be remembered that if the masses accept a suggestion at this period and are started in one direction their pent-up emotion will make any turning back, or toleration of difference, or rationalization impossible. The problem of statesmanship and scientific leadership involves the scattering of attention and the delay of action; with the ultimate substitution of rational processes for emotional ones. If this cannot be done, emotion must exhaust itself through action, and reconstruction may have to begin from ashes.

The process has been described by Lindeman as it is consciously employed to bring about community change. It is obvious that crises must be consciously precipitated in communities if their normal inertia is to be overcome. This is done by spreading and projecting a "consciousness of need" in the community; but if this effort is successful, it is followed by the "emotional impulse to meet the need quickly." At this time the strategy of the leader is to have a number of solutions presented in order to produce a "conflict of solutions" and delay action. Then investigation may be welcomed and scientific findings may be submitted. The complexity revealed by conflicting solutions and the delay for investigation paves the way for discussion, and the orderly process of rejecting absolutes and arriving at satisfactory compromise. This brief analysis may emphasize the fact that research not only serves as a basis for mass action, but that it may aid in breaking down emotional fixation and sublimating an otherwise irrational process.

Lippmann has analyzed the process of public opinion, including the obstacles to rational solutions of public questions. And he has concluded that the accumulation of uniform public records plus expert analysis and interpretation furnish the only hopeful basis for action in this complex world. He has contributed a great deal to our understanding of the mass process. We live in a world that is so vast and intricate that it must be constructed in imagination from whatever materials are accessible. Because of self interest; class alignment; multiplicity, speed, and relative intensity of stimuli; previous conditioning; inaccuracy of news reporting; and resulting attention, we are inclined to view the world in terms of stereotypes. These stereotypes or standardized pictures are associated with, or involve blind spots, which being interpreted means that the picture we bring to a situation is so vivid that we fail to see some of the more subtle realities. Thus a leader of mass movements may define a situation in stereotyped terms and produce action which is totally blind to reality. In fact, this is inevitable unless comprehensive research material is used to construct a realistic picture.

This very brief and simplified review of theory can now be used as a framework for interpreting some major developments in the Southeastern Region of the United States. The hypothesis is advanced that such an interpretation facilitates comprehension of the present, and suggests the determination of alternative outcomes in the future. It will be seen that a major crisis exists in the region, which is not yet fully realized by the masses, but that the conditions which brought it about are becoming more acute. It will be observed that many writers and speakers are
attempting to define the situation and are urging diverse and conflicting solutions. It will appear that there is at present no distinct focus of attention upon any leader or plan; and that there is, therefore, no emotional fixation nor movement toward any particular objective. It is recognized that this interpretation is more hazardous than weather prediction because the temperatures, pressures, currents, fogs, clouds, and tornadoes of social meteorology are more variable than their physical counterparts. But before a blow begins we may scan the horizon and look at our instruments.

Many facts point to the existence of a southern crisis. A region which has organized a large part of its attention, labor, soil, and hope around a single crop—cotton—finds the demand for the crop steadily decreasing, the soils well nigh exhausted, its labor unrewarded, and its hope fading. Furthermore, the decline of cotton production is likely to continue on account of decreasing exports, foreign production, reduction of home consumption by substitutes, unfavorable advantage of southwestern competition, soil depletion, and demand for higher standards of living for workers. The sense of this crisis has not spread widely as yet, chiefly because the wind was tempered by federal aid; and also because the masses inherit a pattern of drudgery, ignorance, poverty, debt, tenancy, and subservience. They will not become aroused until they are cast adrift from their hovels and drudgery through the blind process of competition, or find it necessary to change the pattern of their lives. But when the customary usage of half the land and the pattern of living of half the population are compelled to change in a relatively short time, masses will discover that something is wrong. The successful application of a cotton picking machine will only hasten and complicate the calamity. The industrial situation is also critical. Home owned and chain industries alike have taken over the pattern of paternalism and dependency which characterized the semi-feudal order of the past. Purchasing power has been kept low, while the work has been laid on heavily—women and children carrying the load usually accorded them by such an order. Because these industrial workers left the fields and hills to improve their lot, their bitter disappointment often leads to their resistance,—and discipline by state militia. But they have achieved no general sense of crisis.

The increasing volume of writing about the South by persons within and without the region is not to be interpreted simply as a revival of learning or the rich fruitage of higher education. The content of much of this writing is symptomatic of the approaching difficulty. Selected titles include: I Take My Stand, The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, The Changing South, King Cotton is Sick, Darker Phases of the South, When Southern Labor Stirs, Lynching and the Law, What Nationalism Means to the South, American Crusades, Northern Imperialism, and so on. Fiction gives a large emphasis to pathological conditions in the South. It is not to be construed that all writing is focused upon problems, but there can be little doubt of an increasing ratio comparable to the 50’s and late 80’s. Political, economic, and sociological studies likewise point to a crisis. A brief analysis of some of this writing will show how leaders or “schools” define the situation and how they propose to save it.

One “school” finds the major source of southern ills in the dominance of the industrial Northeast. Their analysis of the evils of industrialism is very similar to that made by leading socialists and communists, but they escape these labels
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by placing all the blame squarely on the North while espousing an agrarian ideal and clinging to laissez-faire individualism. They date the outpouring of calamity from the "New South" movement when industry was urged to come in and bless the region. City growth, impersonal relations, regimentation of life and work, and exploitation are associated with increased industrialization. Strangely enough they do not find so much exploitation in the "Old South." The displacement of refined and benevolent squires by crude and grasping Babbitts is a source of real grief. Some members of this school are definitely isolationists and sectionals who scorn the TVA and other federal efforts because they are often headed by non-regional executives and directors.

It is implied that the Southeast is under such tyranny that it is powerless to make any significant adjustments from within. Obviously political relations must be altered and the section must become autonomous if its strength is to be released and its mission fulfilled. After gaining sectional freedom and balanced privilege the next steps are somewhat vague or contradictory. Some "agrarian" writers advocate a modified feudalism with holders of small lands being unable to sell their holdings and being under strict regulations and penalties as to the care and use of the lands. Other writers seem to hold the Jeffersonian ideal of a government by small, independent, self-sustaining farmers, who shall develop the fine arts, refined tastes, diverse interests, and gentlemanly bearing of a Jefferson without his retinue of servants or the equivalent of his pretentious dwelling at Monticello. They have rendered a very real service by vividly exposing the shallow values and injustices of money economy, as well as the significance of extra-regional control. However, without meaning to inflame or emotionalize the populace, they may play into the hands of demagogues who use sectional prejudices to keep the masses enslaved.

Broadus Mitchell, a leading southern writer on socio-economic questions traces southern agricultural and industrial ills to the prevailing system of production for profit rather than for use—or, monetary values being held superior to human values. A collectivist or socialist state is frankly prescribed for remedy. Many persons outside the region are making the same diagnosis. And others within the region are not only beginning to write in a similar vein, but are leading tenant farmers in open revolts which look toward such a solution.

Still another leadership recognizes a crisis for the South in the rapid development of economic nationalism chiefly through high tariffs and other isolationist policies. The continuance of staple money crops is assumed and the lowering of tariffs and the negotiation of trade agreements are urged as means of salvation. It is pretty generally admitted that actual control at present is in the hands of a highly organized and deeply entrenched lawyer-industrialist oligarchy who have an eye single to profits spelled with f-i, but utter contempt and scorn for prophets spelled with p-h-e. They look upon resources and labor as means to their own immediate enrichment. Historic values, human values, and long-time physical values are sacrificed for immediate ends. It may be said in their behalf that their betrayal is due to their schooling and lack of understanding rather than to any diabolical conspiracy. They simply do not see that they are destroying a region and themselves. Their power operates through machine politics which has been perpetuated for more than half a century by appeals to racial fears, religious
sanctions, and sectional hatreds. Loyalty to a mythical past and a pathological ethnocentrism of the "Solid South" has left an inherently powerful people blind to their own exploitation, without confidence in achievement, and without faith in the future. A ray of hope is seen in the fact that a few political leaders are finding that they may derive power in their own right by appeals to the genuine interests of the people, and thus free themselves from the servitude of special interests. If these few can be distinguished from the demagogues who play both sides, such a cleavage may be achieved during the present crisis, and a renaissance of statesmanship may result.

To the review of influences which may contribute to the spread of crisis and the ultimate focus of mass action must now be added the work of social scientists. They are rapidly producing data upon which an enlightened public opinion might be developed. A more or less random and infrequent research effort is being replaced by sustained, integrated, and frequent attack. The result is giving a comprehensive and realistic picture of the South.

B. B. Kendrick has recently pointed to the curative effects of history. He points out that the effects of an inglorious present are cured by a glorious past when history is used as "a compensatory device for people suffering from a sense of inferiority and frustration." His own work, however, demonstrates that history may be used as curative in the psychiatric sense of revealing the strength and weakness of the patient, so that he may free himself from his fears and inhibitions, and thereby gain command of resources and confidence in his ability. His own researches as well as those of others have shown the tragic and emotional experiences out of which many southern phobias and hysterias have come. He exposes the unconscious mind of the South. He verifies the extra-regional controls that have fastened upon the region, but he makes clear the internal errors and treachery as well. It is especially revealing in connection with the argument of this paper, to notice that the South in a number of former crises has followed emotional extremists and refused the counsel of moderation and realism. If true historical perspective should displace a distorted emphasis, people might be inspired to displace the Blease-Heflin-Long-Bilbo type with a constructive leadership comparable to Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Marshall, and Jackson. There might be a renaissance of learning and balance.

Students of political science have analyzed the tax systems, fiscal policies, laws, organic framework and personnel of government. An inescapable body of data has led to some revision of policy and reorganization of state government; but outmoded forms are stoutly defended by the usual techniques of machine domination, and the region is very inadequately prepared to meet a major crisis in its socio-economic life.

The TVA has many studies in process which will no doubt influence the picture when they are made available.

Some very effective research has been done in rural economics. This research has been accompanied by a program of transmission and demonstration to the people. As soon as patterns of production and management were discovered and verified by research they were to a degree socialized. There are now available adequate information, known method, and demonstrated results to revolutionize the South if they were more completely socialized.

Sociologists have emphasized the fact that the South is not homogeneous or "solid" in any vital sense, but that it is...
actually composed of distinct natural areas or subregions. Rupert B. Vance, in his Human Geography of the South, has made it clear that, although these areas are organically related, their problems and control must be differentiated.

A comprehensive study of the South made by Howard W. Odum for the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council has recently been completed and published under the title of Southern Regions of the United States. Professor Odum has convincingly achieved a comprehensive picture, detailed measurement, and prophetic insight of the Southeastern Region. His work is not only a monumental contribution to regional research, but a basis for public opinion and statesmanship as well. By the use of more than seven hundred objective measures the great capacities and potentialities of a people and a region are shown to be unrealized because of waste, time lag, and preventible deficiencies.¹

The study demonstrates the eloquence and force of mobilized facts. The southern scene becomes alive as the implications of data on deficiency and waste are set over against the clear evidences of abundant potential resources. A mere glimpse of the scene may come from a few characteristic details. The region has experienced a long series of crises and tragedies, including war, reconstruction, depressions, floods, and infestations. It clings to a colonial-commercial system of agriculture, an extensive farm tenancy, a personal machine-dominated politics, a religious fundamentalism, and pioneer values. The major forms of waste are the exhaustion and erosion of soils, and the replenishing of other areas through the migration of excess population and talent. Some deficiencies are the lowest of incomes, the lowest co-operative sales, the lowest ratio of pure-bred livestock, the lowest production of dairy products, low carrying capacity of pasture lands, extraordinary expenditures for commercial fertilizers, low rank in mechanical techniques of farming and living, and deficiencies in health, literacy, and general cultural activities. Over against this a selection from the catalogue of marvelous resources indicates that the Southeastern Region has nearly all the potentialities needed for a good life. Its advantages in rainfall, sunshine, soils, forests, minerals, water power, wild life, rivers, coastline, and vigorous human stock are obvious potentialities. With such resources it does not seem to be an impossible dream for the Region to develop grazing lands with flocks and herds, abundant and varied fruits and vegetables, balanced diets, reasonable comforts, educational opportunities, balanced industrial production, and fair incomes.

However, instances of the wide gap between possibility and realization can be multiplied without number. Milk is shipped from other regions to Florida across states well adapted to dairying, but whose populations go undernourished for lack of a proper milk diet. California markets more eggs in New York than do the Carolinas. Christmas trees and apples are shipped from other regions into states where evergreens are abundant and orchards thrive. Quantities of hay, corn, and beef are brought into the region.

Social planning is suggested as a more promising way of bridging the gap than mere drifting, attempting to resuscitate dying systems, or wishing for the return of a simpler era. Planning is not defined in Utopian terms nor in the fixed objectives which involve regimentation and totalitarianism. It is defined rather

¹See also Wayland J. Hayes, "Regionalism in Theory and Practice?" Social Forces, 14, pp. 606-609 (May, 1936).
in terms of management and flexible democratic control. It is pointed out that federal programs have shown that the economic system of a region may be influenced quickly. Besides, trends toward metropolitan, state, and national planning give promise of socialized motivation. Since regional planning is comprehensive enough to embrace a homogeneous area but not so large as to involve the evils of extensive bureaucracy, the region becomes the major unit of planning. It is proposed, therefore, that representatives from state planning boards augmented by a small membership-at-large be named to coordinate the research and management by states. It is further suggested that efforts be concentrated upon a few selected objectives and priority schedules. Two objectives seem paramount at the beginning, viz., (1) reorganization and development of agriculture through practical programs of optimum production worked out in relation to industrial development and foreign trade; and (2) a very genuine development of institutions of higher learning. The first of these is basic to economic reconstruction and the second is necessary to institutional and technological leadership.

Although the material looking "towards regional planning" is not intended as a blueprint, it does furnish a wealth of detail concerning the major strategy for strengthening institutional centers in the region, for developing a comprehensive framework of inquiry and action, and setting up well designed experimental units of work. It shows how such sub-regions as the uplands of the mid-South may be transformed and how the TVA may demonstrate a pattern of balanced economy and security.

If the crisis is to be met and the values of planning achieved, it is essential for people of the Southern Region to develop "a more realistic facing of the facts," and to achieve a greater unity of effort with the resulting diminution of internal jealousies and rivalries of states and institutions. Before the Southeastern Region chooses the isolation, cultural inbreeding, conflict, and probable dictatorship of a "new sectionalism" it should face all the facts and implications of regionalism. The latter recognizes that it is to the mutual advantage of all regions to develop their unique powers, but also to understand and utilize the supplementary resources which each affords the other.

In terms of the original problem it has fairly been demonstrated that major changes in the southern pattern are impending, but that mass consciousness has neither been aroused, nor focused upon leadership or goals. Potential leaders have arisen to define the situation and propose their several solutions. An exhaustive analysis has been made available for the possible development of public opinion. The problem of the South resolves itself into one of social control, or guiding the course of inevitable change. Research and planning must not only provide technical codes and blueprints for change, but a vision and wish for ample living must be developed through various techniques of control. The time may be too limited to allow for the effects of presenting alternative culture patterns as is now done by the TVA. However, the educational program of the Authority is a significant experiment in mass control. It will be remembered that when the good roads program of the South was introduced, it was not only necessary to have federal aid, but also to secure public attention and approval. Now, if some extreme and delusive program is to be avoided, and if exploitation by appeals to hates, hurts, and fears are to be overcome, the popular
imagination must be supplied with a picture of the South-to-be. In a region which discourages free press, free speech, and free assembly; where a minimum of reading is done; and where less than a third of the eligible voters exercise the right of suffrage, the danger of emotional crusades is obvious. Whether myths of the past or myths of the future, with public opinion enlightened by research, shall motivate action, depends upon the emerging and surviving leadership.

THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY PROGRAM

T. LEVRON HOWARD

Tennessee Valley Authority

T he reasons for the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority are found in the social and economic conditions prevalent in large sections of the southeastern United States. Though the drainage basin of the Tennessee River has long been recognized as possessing unusual developmental possibilities, the economy of the region has been obviously unsatisfactory. Abandoned mines, depleted forests, eroded soils, and stranded populations testified to the unwise use that had been made of natural resources. The selection of the valley of the Tennessee River as the location of a national experiment in regional planning was the nation's response to a recognition of these conditions.

The ultimate objective of the Tennessee Valley Authority program, as defined by Congress, is to promote the economic and social well-being of the people of the region. The methods provided for bringing about these results are stated to be the development of the Tennessee River for navigation, flood control, and the generation of electric power incidental to and consistent with flood control and navigation. Cheaper and more efficient fertilizers are to be developed, proper use is to be found for marginal land, and methods of reforestation are to be worked out.

It is impossible even to state the program for the Tennessee Valley region without realizing the tremendous social implications it carries. It is also evident that the mere statement of a major objective and the general outline of the methods by which it is to be achieved will not give life to the program. If the project is to succeed, the cooperation of the people affected by it must be secured, and the economics of the program in its entirety and in all of its phases must be studied and analyzed. The federal project and the powers of the federal agency must be considered in their relationship to the state and local governments already operating in the area. These are some of the problems for the solution of which the social scientist can offer the special knowledge of his discipline. The economist, the sociologist, the educator, and the political scientist must be prepared to cooperate with the engineer, the geologist, the agriculturist, and the forester in finding solutions for the problems arising out of the project. A satisfactory solution of many of these major problems can be found in neither the exact sciences nor the social sciences alone, but must result from a synthesis of the two.

In a program as broad as that being undertaken in the Tennessee Valley, it is